



Ancient Egypt:

'The Second Intermediate Period' or

The Second 'Interregnum':

The War between the Theban Egyptians and the Hyksos

Primary Sources:

'The First Kamose Stela',

As painstakingly translated by the eminent Egyptologist

Sir Alan H. Gardiner (1879–1963)

and published in his seminal journal article

'The Defeat of the Hyksos by Kamose' (1916)

This small e-book consists in a digitized version of Sir Alan H. Gardiner's translation into English of the First Kamose Stela, as presented to the world in his masterful journal article 'The Defeat of the Hyksos by Kamose' in 1916, as well as other carefully selected excerpts from that same article. The reader may rest assured that these excerpts, when taken as a whole, represent the gist of Sir Gardiner's most important findings and assessments regarding this ancient Egyptian stela.

This revised version of the e-book (December 2024) also includes our own extensive commentary, as well as a later translation of the First Kamose stela, and a comparison of that to the one executed by Sir Gardiner – a comparison which reveals some very interesting differences between the two texts when it comes to terminology. In addition to this, we have also included what is probably the first fully digitized version of a most fascinating discourse on the etymology and meaning of the place names “Avaris” and “Baal-Zephon”, originally published in 1881, in the ground-breaking work *A History of Egypt under the Pharaohs: Derived Entirely from the Monuments*, composed by the Prussian Egyptologist (1827–1894) Karl Heinrich Brugsch (also known as Brugsch-Bey).

Copyright for this *abridged* and *digitized* version of Sir Gardiner's article, with commentary and various additions, is asserted by Edmund Schilvold (M.Th.).

Front page illustration: The sarcophagus of Kamose, discovered by Auguste Mariette-Bey (1821–1881) at Dra Abu el-Naga near Luxor in 1857. Kamose was the son of the Seqenenre Tao, King of Thebes, who was executed by the Hyksos after having been captured by them on the battlefield, and Queen Ahhotep I, and the brother of Ahmose I, who founded the eighteenth dynasty.

First published online by the undersigned in October 2024.

Significant additions to the text of the original journal article have been put within {curly brackets}, and have sometimes also been marked with the initials of the undersigned, i.e. with “E.S.”, for the sake of clarity.

Any **emphasis** is always an added one.

Queen Ahmose Sitkamose



The face of Sitkamose, the only daughter of Kamose, according to an AI reconstruction based on the features of her mummy. Although Kamose's mummy has been lost, this rendition of the countenance of Sitkamose probably gives us some indication of what her father looked like. Image credit: Egyptian Planet

The First Kamose Stela, also known as the Carnarvon Tablet

Discovered by Lord Carnarvon at Thebes in Upper Egypt in 1908

Sir Alan H. Gardiner's translation and considerations

Excerpts from:

Gardiner, Alan H. (1916). The Defeat of the Hyksos by Kamose: The Carnarvon Tablet, No. I. *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, 3(2/3), 95–110.

Start of excerpts (quotes):

The Defeat of the Hyksos by Kamose: The Carnarvon Tablet, No. I

By Alan H. Gardiner, D.Litt.

{Please note: Surnames have been rendered as they were printed in the original 1916 journal article, meaning that they have been given in 'ALL CAPS'. – E.S.}

No single inscription has been discovered in the course of the past ten years more important than the writing-board recording a defeat of the Hyksos by the Theban king Kamose, which was found by Lord CARNARVON {George Edward Stanhope Molyneux Herbert, 1866–1923, English Egyptologist} in 1908, and subsequently published in the fine memoir dealing with his excavations (1). In that work good photographs of both recto and verso are given, and Mr. F. Ll. GRIFFITH {Francis Llewellyn Griffith, 1862–1934, English Egyptologist} contributes a valuable description; but the former are on too small a scale, and the latter is too summary, to satisfy the requirements of the philologist and the historian.

The Carnarvon Tablet no. I belongs to a pair of hieratic writing-boards found among loose debris of pottery and fragmentary mummies on a ledge near the entrance to a plundered tomb in the Birabi,

not far from the mouth of the Deir el Bahari valley (2). The tomb in question is assigned by Mr. Howard CARTER {1874–1939, English Egyptologist, discoverer of the tomb of Tutankhamen} to the Seventeenth Dynasty, and we have every reason to believe that this attribution is correct. The two writing-boards are of a type not uncommon at this period, consisting of wooden tablets covered with stucco of fine plaster and having, in the middle of one of the shorter sides, a hole by means of which they could be hung up. Tablet no. I bears on the obverse the historical text here to be considered, and on the reverse first a new copy of the beginning of the well-known *Proverbs of Ptahhotpe* {today also known as the Maxims of Ptahhotep} (3) and below this the lines of a draughtsboard in squares 10 x 3.

Footnotes for the above excerpts from p. 95:

1 THE EARL OF CARNARVON and HOWARD CARTER, *Five Years' Explorations at Thebes*, London, 1912, pl. xxvii, xxviii, and pp. 36–7.

2 *Op. cit.*, p. 4 and p. 35.

3 See G. MASPERO, *L'Ostrakon Carnarvon et le Papyrus Prisse*, in *Rec. de Trav.*, vol. 31 (1909), pp. 146–153. Another transcription in E.A.W. BUDGE, *Egyptian Hieratic Papyri*, London, 1910, pp. xviii–xix. A large-scale photographic facsimile in G. JEQUIER, *Le Papyrus Prisse et ses variantes*, Paris, 1911, pl. 16.

(End of excerpts from p. 95)

M. le capitaine R. WEILL {Raymond Charles Isaac Weill, 1874–1950, French–Jewish Egyptologist}, in an interesting but wholly unconvincing treatise on the documentary evidence for the Hyksos period (1), similarly disputes the historical character of the Carnarvon Tablet, though admitting that it may date back as early as the beginning of the Eighteenth Dynasty. Professor NEWBERRY, on the other hand, declares emphatically that this document “is certainly not a tale (as has been suggested) but deals with exact history, and if we compare it with the so-called 'Tale of Apepy and Seqenenre' {today commonly known as *the Quarrel of Apophis and Seqenenre*} preserved in the *Sallier Papyrus no. II* (*sic, lege no. I*), we find some points which lend colour to the old theory that this *Sallier Papyrus no. II* is a copy of an earlier historical document, and not simply

a popular romance (2).” {The papyrus here referred to is also known as EA 101085, and remains in the custody of the British Museum. – E.S.}

Though it is impossible to agree with Professor NEWBERRY as regards this latter point, he is undoubtedly right in stating that the hieratic writing is that “characteristic of the end of the xviiith Dynasty.” This verdict is thoroughly borne out alike by its general appearance and by a detailed scrutiny of its individual forms. **There is the same love of rounded shapes and terminal flourishes which we find in the *Rhind Mathematical Papyrus*, the *Westcar* and the *Papyrus Ebers*.**

Footnotes for the above excerpts from p. 96:

1 R. WEILL, *Les Hyksos et la restauration nationale*, Paris, 1911; appeared first in *Journal Asiatique*, 10th series, vols. 16 (1910) and 17 (1911). The Carnarvon Tablet is discussed in an additional article published by *Journal Asiatique*, 11th series, vol. I (1913), pp. 536–544.

2 P.E. NEWBERRY, *Notes on the Carnarvon Tablet No. I*, in *Proc. S.B.A.*, vol. 35 (1913), pp. 117–122.

(End of excerpts from p. 96)

It may be considered certain, therefore, that the Carnarvon Tablet no. I is very nearly contemporary with the events it records; in no case can it have been written more than fifty years later. The question as to its value as a historical document is better deferred until we have become acquainted with the contents.

(End of excerpts from p. 97)

{Gardiner's Egyptian Glyphs, not reproduced in this digitized version for technical reasons} **Avaris, the stronghold and capital of the Hyksos**, identified by MARIETTE and DE ROUGE with Tanis, by PETRIE (*Hyksos and Israelite Cities*, pp. 9–10) with an encampment or settlement of the

Hyksos period found by him at Tell el Yahudiyeh, while WEILL (*Les Hyksos*, pp. 173–174) hesitates between Heliopolis and an indeterminate site somewhere in the Eastern Delta.

{**Comment:** Today, a hundred years later, we can say with absolute certainty that Avaris is not identical to Tanis, nor to Tell el Yahudiyeh, but was located near an extinct branch of the Nile River known as the Pelusiac, in the eastern part of the Nile Delta, at a site now styled Tell el Dab’a (“tell” denotes the mound-like remnants of an ancient town or city). This not only places “the Capital of the Hyksos” right in the middle of the “Goshen” of the Old Testament/the Tanakh, but reveals that the “Rameses” or “Ramesses” of the Book of Exodus is simply, *in that particular context*, another name for Avaris, probably chosen by the authors because Rameses, or Pi-Ramesse/Per Ramessu, was the name of a somewhat later conurbation very close to the site of Avaris, at the same branch of the Nile, and, moreover, because those unknown authors wanted to avoid mentioning Avaris, since that would have given the whole game away (would have made it plain to everyone in the know in the ancient world that the “Exodus” they were rewriting and romanticizing was that of the Hyksos, and that the Egyptian pharaoh whose name they chose not to mention was none other than Ahmose I).

The reason why I have concluded that the authors deliberately avoided mentioning Avaris is as follows: If much or most of Tanakh, *as we now have it*, only goes back to the 200s B.C., and to Alexandria, as a number of scholars (like Russell Gmirkin, for example) believe, they would surely have had access to Manetho’s history of Egypt, or to the same sources as the ones Manetho would use, and if this be the case, and the composition of a truthful, historically accurate account of the “Exodus” was their objective, it is *exceedingly strange* that they did not even mention the actual, known history of Avaris, nor the name of the pharaoh in question, *even if they genuinely* believed that the exodus of people *they* had in mind took place later, under some other pharaoh other than Ahmose I, and in the time of Pi-Ramesse, since such a belief, *if* it was indeed theirs, would have gone against the “academic consensus” (if we may use such a term) of their age.

If, on the other hand, elements of the Book of Exodus narrative is actually far older, and *do* go back to the time when the “Amu” or “Asiatics” were in the Delta, as Queen Hatshepsut puts it, i.e. to the 1500s B.C. or thereabouts, or, alternatively, to the second, smaller “exodus” of people which may have taken place around the end of the reign of the rouge pharaoh Akhenaten, then it is *also* exceedingly strange that neither Avaris nor the name of the pharaoh are stated, since every educated

person in the region in question would have been familiar with at least the outlines of the history of Egypt and the Expulsion of the Hyksos (which may have been the outcome of an armistice of sorts between the Hyksos ruler and the Theban Egyptians), which, in terms of its magnitude, its peculiarity and its significance to the native Egyptians, is a unique historical event. – E.S.}

The historical and literary texts in which it is mentioned throw little light upon its localization beyond establishing the fact that it was in the Delta: the *Story of Seqenenre and Apophis* {sic} gives the full writing {Gardiner's Egyptian Glyphs, not reproduced here} (SALLIER I, 1, 2); the biography of Ahmose of El Kab {today known as Ahmose, Son of Ebana/Abana} relates its siege and capture (SETHE, *Urkunden*, iv, 3–4); **the inscription of Hatshepsut at Speos Artemidos tells of the time “when the 'A'amu were in Avaris of the Delta”** (*op. cit.*, iv, 390).

{**Comment:** Here we may note that the “Hebrew” word for “people”, frequently used in the Tanakh to designate the “Israelites”, is “am”. “Am” is, in other words, one of the *self-designations* of the “Proto-Israelites”. A kinship between the “Hebrew” and the Egyptian terms seems highly probable. – E.S.}

MANETHO is far more illuminating: in the account of the Hyksos invasion preserved verbatim by JOSEPHUS (*Contra Apionem*, I, 78), he narrates how the first Hyksos king Salatis, fearing an invasion from the East, found “a most convenient city in the Sethroite nome lying to the east of the Bubastite river, and called Avaris for some old theological reason” (...).

{As for the meaning of the name Avaris, the great Egyptologist K.H. Brugsch-Bey likely solved the puzzle, when he suggested (Brugsch-Bey, 1881, p. 427; see addendum below) that Avaris is a variant of “Ha-Bar” or “Ha-Var” (“House of Baal”) – the B having morphed into a V, and the L into an R (or vice versa), as often happens in languages. Avaris is, in other words, the same place as the one denoted, in the context of the “Exodus”, by the name *Baal-Zephon*, and the “Baal” referred to has to be Seth (also known as Sutekh), the Egyptian deity, or the Phoenician or Canaanite equivalent of Seth, since Avaris was a center of his cult. The “Hebrew” term *haavaara* could also have some relation to the name of Avaris.}

The MS. reading in this passage is Σαίτη [Saite], which is inherently absurd; the emendation Σεθροίτη [Sethroite] is assured by the rendering *per legem Methraitem* in the Armenian version,

and by the equivalent ἐν τῷ Σεθροίτῃ νομῷ in the epitome of Manetho's history handed down by Africanus and Eusebius.

The Greek writers show themselves particularly well informed about Avaris and its history, Ptolemy of Mendes relating its capture by Amosis I (see E. MEYER , *Aeg. Chronologie*, p. 74, n. 1), and Manetho (in JOSEPHUS, *Contra Apionem*, I , 237) being aware that it was Typhonian, i.e. that Seth was worshipped there.

{The ancient Hellenes equated Seth with the Greek deity Typhon, to which Plutarch (46–119 A.D.), a priest of Apollo at Delphi, refers, in his intriguing *Isis and Osiris* treatise, where he, interestingly, states that Typhon once fled a battle in Egypt “on the back of an ass” [one of the animals closely associated with Seth; the donkey, found to have been ritually sacrificed by the Hyksos in Avaris], and that Typhon then went on to “become the father of sons, Hierosolymus and Judaeus”. – E.S.}

It is therefore quite unreasonable, without cogent grounds, to doubt the evidence of Manetho, which, as Dr GRENFELL points out to me, is quite explicit.

{Compare this and the earlier endorsement of Manetho by Sir Gardiner to the frequent denunciations of the same observable in certain quarters today – the latter category of statements are clearly politically and religiously motivated. – E.S.}

The Sethroite nome appears to lie wholly to the east of the Bubastite or Pelusiac branch of the Nile, and is bounded to the south by the well-located Arabian nome with its capital at Phacusa, the modern Fakus.

The chances are, accordingly, that Avaris lay quite close to the caravan-route to Syria, which is now known to have started somewhere near Kantarah (1) (...).

Footnotes for the above excerpts from p. 99:

1 See KÜTHMANN, *Die Ostgrenze Aegyptens*; my own notes in *Hieratic Texts*, vol. i, p. 29*; and new evidence from Kantarah bearing on the localization of Tharu {or Tjaru, or Sele, an ancient Egyptian fortress situated on the so-called Road of Horus, the ancient highway connecting Lower

Egypt with what is now Gaza and Israel} somewhere in the vicinity published in *Annales du Service*, vol. 12 (1912), p. 76, and more fully in *Bulletin de l'Institut franc. d'Arch. Orient.*, vol. 11 (1913), pp. 29–38.

(p. 99, emphasis added)

It is true that the Hyksos rulers showed a great partiality for Tanis, and that monuments erected both by them and by Ramesses II and Meneptah [or Merneptah] there often mention Seth and even “Seth, lord of Avaris”; see WEILL, op. cit, pp. 168–172, for an enumeration of the monuments in question.

But a statue of king Nehasi, who has been thought to be a vassal of one of the early Hyksos rulers, also bears the epithet “beloved of Seth, lord of Avaris,” though it was found at Tell Mokdam and not at Tanis.

Clearly, the reason why Hyksos rulers call themselves “beloved of Seth, lord of Avaris” is because Avaris was their capital and Seth its god, and this holds good whether the monuments on which they are so called were erected at Avaris itself or elsewhere.

It is not quite so easy to account for the statues erected or usurped by Meneptah at Tanis, on which he calls himself “beloved of Seth, lord of Avaris” (PETRIE, Tanis, I, 2, 5a; Berlin, *Aeg. Inschr.*, 11, pp. 19–22) {perhaps he was consciously attempting to garner the favor of Seth, in spite of the fact that Seth had become associated with the Hyksos, since Seth was, after all, a deity in the Egyptian pantheon, and the ancient Egyptians were profoundly pious people}; but Seth appears to have been the principal god of Per-Ramesse, the northern capital of all the earlier Ramessides (*Harris*, 1, 60, 2–3), and the evidence concerning Per-Ramesse, which I cannot quote here, goes to show {continues on next page}

(p. 100, emphasis added)

that it must have been situated in much the same region as that in which Avaris, according to our evidence, seems to have lain; indeed it appears not impossible that Per-Ramesse may have been built on the site of Avaris itself, though this is mere conjecture. (...)

{Comment: As we have seen, the educated guess here made by Sir Gardiner would later turn out to be virtually correct.}

(p. 101)

The name **Md;y Mazoï** really refers to a particular race of Nubians, whom the Egyptians appear to have used as auxiliaries. In the New Kingdom the word seems to be used in a non-ethnic sense to mean something like “policeman”; and some have thought it to be the origin of the Coptic [matoï] “soldier,” for which at all events we have no other satisfactory derivation (see, however, GRIFFITH, *Rylands Papyri*, p. 319).

(p. 105, emphasis added)

CONSECUTIVE TRANSLATION.

{Here we finally get the actual text of the First Kamose Stela, as rendered into English by Sir Alan H. Gardiner. It is curious that both this and several other such texts, of seminal importance to the history of Egypt, and therefore to the world, are exceedingly difficult, and in some cases virtually impossible, to find on the Internet.}

{Letters and words in [brackets] are those inserted by Sir Gardiner unless otherwise indicated.}

Year 3, Horus “Appearing-upon-his-Throne,” Two Goddesses “Repeating-Monuments,” **Horus of Gold** “Making-content-the-Two-Lands,” King of Upper and Lower Egypt [Wazkhe]per[re, **Son of Re**] **Kamose**, granted life, **beloved of Amen-re**, lord of Thrones of-the-Two-Lands (Karnak), like Re for ever and ever.

The victorious king within Thebes, Kamose, granted life eternally, was beneficent king; and Re [made] him into a veritable king, and granted to him victory in very truth. Thereupon His Majesty spoke in his palace to the council of officers which was with him:

(p. 107, emphasis added)

“I should like to know what purpose serves my strength, when one prince is in Avaris and another is in Kush, and I sit united with an 'A'am and a Negro {today we would say Black (African). – E.S.} – each man holding his slice of the Black Land {i.e. Egypt, the native name for which refers to its black and fruitful soil – E.S.} – who share the land with me.

I do not pass him (??) as far as Memphis, the water (?) of Egypt. Behold, he holds (?) Shmun, and **no man rests, being wasted (?) through servitude (?) of the Setyu** {the Hyksos or Amu or Asiatics – E.S.}.

I will grapple with him, that I may cleave open his belly. **My desire is to deliver Egypt, and to smite (?) the 'A'amu.**”

Then spoke the great men of his council: – “Behold, the 'A'amu have [advanced (?)] as far as Cusae, they have pulled out (?) their tongues all together. We are secure in the possession of our Black Land. Elephantine is strong, and the middle part (??) is with us as far as Cusae. The finest (?) of their fields are ploughed for us. Our cattle are in the papyrus marshes. The spelt is sent (?) to our swine. Our cattle are not taken away ... on account of it. He holds the land of the 'A'amu, and we hold the Black Land. Then [whoever (??)] comes and lands (?) and acts (?) [against (?)] us, **then** {when he attacks – E.S.} do we act against him.”

Now they were displeasing in the heart of His Majesty: – “As for your counsels ... these 'A'amu, who ... [Behold, I will fight (?)] with the 'A'amu, until (?) good fortune comes. If ... with weeping. The entire land [shall acclaim me (?) the victorious ruler (?)] within Thebes, Kamose, who protects Egypt.”

{Here the brave Kamose is portrayed as openly defying the advice given by his council. Perhaps

some of those “great men” were secretly in league with the enemy? ... denote lacunae in the text.}

I sailed down as a champion to overthrow the 'A'amu by the command of Amun, just of counsels, my army being valiant in front of me like a fiery blast; troops of Mazoï on the top (?) of our strongholds (?) to spy out the Setyu and to destroy their places;

East and West bringing their fat, and my army abounding in supplies everywhere. I sent forth a strong troop of Mazoï, and spent a while (?) in order to coop up (??) ... Teti the son of Piopi in Nefrusi. I suffered him not to escape. I turned back the Asiatics, I ... Egypt ..., and he made (?) as one who ... the power of the Asiatics.

I spent the night in my ship, my heart being glad.

When day dawned I was on him, as it were a hawk. When the time of perfuming the mouth (??) arrived, I overthrew him, I destroyed his wall, I slew his folk, I caused his wife to go down to the river-bank. My soldiers were like lions with their prey, carrying off slaves, cattle, fat and honey, and dividing up their possessions, their hearts rejoicing.

The region of Nef[rusi (??)] came down (??), it was no great thing for us (?) to confine its soul (??). The (?) ... of Per-Shaq (?) was lacking (??), when I came to it. Their horses (?) fled inside. The garrison (?) ...

{End of Message of First Kamose Stela. – E.S.}

CONCLUSIONS.

In attempting to estimate the historical value of this text it appears to me that the question of the date at which it was written is of far greater importance than the question as to the literary category in which it is to be classed. If, as I believe with Mr. GRIFFITH and Professor NEWBERRY, the actual writing dates from within a few years of the time when the events recorded are supposed to have taken place, it is surely incredible that those events should be wholly fictitious.

(p. 108, emphasis added)

For my part, I am unable to discover any word or phrase which indicates or implies that the writer was aware of the subsequent taking of Avaris and of the ultimate triumph of the Thebans. On the contrary, unless the text in its complete form, against the custom of early times, was as long and circumstantial as the stele of the Ethiopian Piankhi, the detailed description which the Carnarvon tablet gives of the taking of Nefrusi would surely have appeared ridiculously long and out of proportion in the light of the far more important events that followed. (...)

It is by no means unlikely that the text of the tablet is a direct copy from a stele set up by Kamose in one of the Theban temples. There are irregularities in the first line, which suggests that this may have been adapted from the descriptive epithets accompanying the scene of worship regularly found within the rounded upper portion of commemorative stelae. We may picture to ourselves the figure of Kamose standing before Amun, the royal and the divine titles being engraved above their respective owners' heads; between the two, and at the very top, may have been seen the regnal date.

This particular stele may have appealed to the writer of the Carnarvon Tablet on account of the boldness of its metaphors or some other pleasing features in its style. That his motive in making the copy was a literary one may be concluded from the facts that the reverse bears the beginning of the Proverbs of Ptahhotpe and that the smaller tablet also contained a moral tractate. It does not, however, follow that the purpose of the original was the same as that of the copy. The best analogy for what has taken place here will be found in a parchment document, inscribed in hieratic, now in Berlin (4) : this records certain buildings

Footnotes for the above excerpts from p. 109:

4 See BREASTED, *Ancient Records*, vol. I, §§ 498–506.

(p. 109)

made by Senwosret I at Heliopolis and is a copy made at the time of the Eighteenth Dynasty; the intrinsic interest, apart from the language, makes it impossible to regard this as a romance, and there is, accordingly, reasonable ground for supposing that the original was an authentic commemorative stele.

For a similar reason we must reject M. MASPERO'S view that the Carnarvon Tablet contains the beginning of a semi-historical tale; Egyptian tales, as we know them, deal with subjects far more fantastic than mere descriptions of warlike operations.

There appears, therefore, to be no reason why we should not give just as much credence to the narrative of the Carnarvon Tablet as to any other official Egyptian commemorative stele. No doubt this kind of historical source is not all that could be desired, but since we can neither contradict nor qualify its statements we must make shift with them as best we may.

In point of fact, the information that we obtain from the Carnarvon Tablet agrees very well with our previous views on the Hyksos period. In the romance of the *Sallier* papyrus Seqenenre is a more or less obedient vassal of the Hyksos ruler Apophis.

Kamose was probably the immediate predecessor of Amosis I {the founder and first pharaoh of the eighteenth dynasty, whose name is now usually spelled Ahmose, and who reigned from c. 1539 to 1515 B.C. – E.S.}, since both are associated together in the famous find of jewellery and on an inscription at Toshkeh in Lower Nubia (1).

From the tomb of Ahmose at El Kab {Ahmose, Son of Abana/Ebana, a mariner and warrior, not to be confused with the Ahmose just mentioned, one of the pharaohs under whom he served} we learn that Amosis I drove the Hyksos out of Avaris and subsequently defeated them, after a long siege, at Sharuhén in Judah. The movement of which this defeat signaled the triumphant ending may have been the direct and unbroken continuation of the more modest campaign undertaken by Kamose. The utmost limit of Kamose's ambition seems to have been the re-capture of Memphis (1. 4); whether it was he or Amosis to whom that honour fell is not yet known to us.

(...)

Not the least interesting point about the Carnarvon Tablet is its allusion to a powerful prince in Kush, who claimed equality with the Theban Pharaoh. This reference is confirmed by the biography of Ahmose of El Kab, whence we learn that the defeat of the Hyksos at Sharuhén was immediately followed by a Nubian campaign, where "His Majesty made a great slaughter" and Ahmose earned for the second time the reward of gold given to doughty warriors.

Footnotes for the above excerpts from p. 110:

1 WEILL, *Les Hyksos*, pp. 150–2.

(p. 110)

{End of discourse on the First Kamose Stela (the Carnarvon Tablet) – E.S.}

Addendum:

Prof. Dr. Brugsch-Bey on the true meaning and location of “Baal Zephon”:

(H)A(-)var(is), Capital of the Hyksos

Excerpts from the “Additions and Notes: Notes on the Exodus” section of Brugsch's
A History of Egypt under the Pharaohs

7. *Baal-zephon*. The identification of Mons Casius with the place called *Baal-zephon*, that is 'Baal of the North,' or 'Lord of the North,' is not proved by monumental evidence. The word Casius is derived from the (Semitic) name Hazina or Hazian for all the country to the east of the Pelusiac branch [of the Nile river] ; (6) and it is preserved clearly enough in the modern appellation of *Qantarah-el-Hazneh*.

Baal-zephon, which I have *supposed* to be Mons Casius, allows of two explanations : either it is the translation of the Egyptian title *neb-mehi*, 'Lord of the North,' given to the god Amon worshipped in this country, and surnamed likewise *neb-Khirot*, 'lord of the lagoons,' or it is the *transcription* of the Egyptian name of the city *Hauar* (or *-ual*), the first element of which (Ha = 'house') has been suppressed, just as in the Hebrew name R'amses in place of the Egyptian Pi-r'amses ('abode of R'amses').

The correspondence of the Hebrew word Ba'al () with the Egyptian u'ar or u'al (meaning 'leg ; ' see my *Dict. Geogr.* App. s. v. u'ar) presents no stumbling-block, when we call to mind that the Hebrew Ba'al is rendered in Egyptian sometimes by b'ar, sometimes by u'ar. (7)

[Here we may also observe that r, the sound, has a tendency to morph into l, and vice versa, over the course of the life of a language or language family.]

From this would follow the important result, that the place *Ba'al-zephon*, 'the city of Ba'al of the North', would be the same as Ha-u'ar, that is to say, as the AVARIS of Manetho.

And, as there were several places named u'ar in the geographical nomenclature of Egypt, there is every probability that the one designated in the Bible as *Baal-ZEPHON* answers to the 'Avaris OF THE NORTH' of the Egyptian texts, situated to the east of the Pelusiac branch of the Nile.

Lepsius [Karl Richard Lepsius, the Prussian Egyptologist of fame; 1810–1884], who has travelled over this part of Lower Egypt, has established by full proof that the long ruins (ramparts now covered with sand) at the place called Tel-el-Her (or Hir) mark the site of the ancient Ha-u'ar. (8)

[It seems that this “Tel-el-Her” has to be identical to the site which is now usually styled Tell el Dab'a.]

8. *The Site of the Hebrew Camp.* In summing up my latest researches, it appears to me that the Hebrews, on quitting *Etham*, directed their march towards Migdol, where they encamped opposite to Avaris (*Baal-zephon*). **With this interpretation all becomes clear.** (9)

[All does indeed become very clear, Prof. Brugsch – and yet, some 150 years after discoveries such as these, the vast majority of ordinary people have still never so much as heard of them, and virtually all the Christian churches and many Christian scholars are behaving as if absolutely nothing has changed or been uncovered since the dawn of the nineteenth century, when the information gathered together by eminent professors like Brugsch should have constituted a watershed moment in both academic and religious history.]

Editorial footnotes to the above “Additions and notes” by Brugsch himself

(6) The distinction between the uses of the word Casius, for a definite spot and in a wider sense, forms an important element in the whole question. Herodotus (ii. 6, iii. 5) first mentions it as a mountain extending beside Lake Sirbonis *to the sea*, which may mean a range of hills or a mere promontory. In some passages of Strabo, &c., the name seems to apply to the region S. of the lake. On the other hand Mons Casius is distinctly defined as a hill, forming a promontory on the sea-coast (answering precisely to the headland called *Ras Katieh* or *El Gelse*), 40 Roman miles east of Pelusium, and 24 west of Ostracena (Strab. i. p. 58 ; xvi. p. 759; Itin. Ant. p. 152). There would also

seem to have been a place Casium, distinct from Mount Casius.

But, in whichever sense, the name *Casius* is taken from the Egyptian name of the district *Hazian*, and has no *direct* connection with Baal-zephon. Strong as is the evidence furnished by the temple of Jupiter Casius for regarding the place as a 'Baal-zephon,' the argument applies to *any* sanctuary of that god, and most of all to *Avaris*, the chief seat of the Hyksos, whose special deity he was. ED.

(7) Readers who do not know Hebrew should be informed that the second letter of the alphabet (Beth) represents both B and U or V.

(8) See the interesting description of these ruins by Mr. Greville Chester (*ut sup. cit.* p. 148): 'Tel-el-Hir marks the site of a town of large extent and considerable importance, and its surface is strewn with innumerable sherds of pottery, ancient glass of fine quality, and bits of hewn stone ' (some of which seem to be window frames). On the west side of the Tel, the side farthest from the desert, rise the remains of a massive square tower, each of whose sides measures about 94 paces [one pace being c. 0.76 meters]. The north, south, and western sides of this fortress descend into *an immense desiccated lake or marsh*. The eastern side of the tower, which is built of crude brick, is joined to the rest of the sandy Tel, which extends eastwards to the desert. ... It is at once evident to the eye that this was an important frontier fortress.'

This answers in all respects to the Hyksos' frontier fortress of Hau'ar (Avaris), which has been already described in the History (Vol. I, pp. 23–67). It stood at the N.E. frontier of Egypt, on the right side of the Pelusiac arm of the Nile, and had on its *west* side either a lake or estuary (the 'Pa-zetku of Avaris') on which the sailor Aahmes [the name of an Egyptian soldier who left a personal account of his battles with the Hyksos, a name now usually transliterated into English as Ahmose, which, in this case, does not refer to the famous Pharaoh Amasis or Ahmose, Liberator of Egypt from the Hyksos yoke, but, as indicated, to a mariner. E.S.] fought under the king his namesake in a naval battle with the Hyksos, and also water on its *south* side. (Vol. I. pp. 28–45.)

Finally, its distance (about 7 or 8 miles) from Brugsch's site of Migdol (Tel-es-Sammut, Mr. Chester's Tel-Habooa) gives a fit site for the camp of the Israelites 'between Migdol and the sea' (the estuary of the Pelusiac [branch of the] Nile) 'in face of Baal-zephon.' ED.

(10) (...). If the transference of the catastrophe to this region loses much of that wonderful

appropriateness which we have seen in the causeway between Lake Sirbonis and the sea, **Strabo supplies us with another striking parallel to show that we are not limited to this or that spot on the Mediterranean shore for sudden movements of wind and water such as overwhelmed the Egyptian host. The geographer relates (xvi. p. 758) how, after a battle on the coast between Tyre and Ptolemais (Acre), 'a wave from the sea, like the rising tide, overwhelmed the fugitives ; some were carried out to sea and drowned, others perished in the hollows ; then again the ebb succeeding *uncovered and displayed to sight the bodies lying in confusion among dead fish*' (comp. Exod. xiv. 30). ED.**

[This incident, related by Strabo, the Greek geographer, bears a curious resemblance to the one the Book of Exodus claims befell the Egyptian army pursuing the “Israelites” – the main differences between the two narratives being, of course, that Strabo's wave of water hit *fugitives*, on the coast of Palestine. Could the fugitives here referred to be the Hyksos who had left Avaris, and who were trying to reach their second stronghold of Sharuhén (the city mentioned by Bietak), while being pursued by Pharaoh Ahmose, who then laid siege to Sharuhén, and eventually destroyed it?]

(Brugsch-Bey, 1881, pp. 427–429, emphasis added)

An alternative translation of the First Kamose Stela (from Pritchard, 1969, pp. 232–233):

The War Against the Hyksos

The expulsion of the Hyksos from Egypt was not accomplished in a single generation. The Egyptians had to find their strength in a series of campaigns. The account of one such revolt against the foreign rule is found in a characteristic setting: the record of a pharaoh's superior judgment and prowess. Kamose, who reigned just before the Eighteenth Dynasty (before 1570 B.C), rebelled against a truce which divided Egypt between his Theban rule and the rule of the Hyksos at Avaris, rejected the cautious advice of his officials, and set out to win back a larger dominion.

Although the end of the inscription is lost {this is almost certainly no longer true, since the continuation of the message of the First Kamose Stela is, in all likelihood, found on the largely intact stela discovered by Labib Habachi and Mohammed Hammad in 1954, a stela which is now known as the Second Kamose Stela; see the e-book elsewhere on my profile page}, it may be assumed that Ka-mose was recording some measure of success. The Carnarvon Tablet I, found in western Thebes, is a schoolboy exercise almost contemporaneous with the events it relates. As will be indicated below, it may have been copied from Ka-mose's own stela.

The tablet was published by Lord Carnarvon and H. Carter, *Five Years' Exploration at Thebes* (London, 1912), 36–37, Pls. XXVII–XXVIII, and by A. H. Gardiner, in *JEA*, III (1916), 95–110, Pls. XII–XIII. It was translated by B. Gunn and A. H. Gardiner, in *JEA*, V (1918), 45–47, and by Erman, *LAE*, 52–54.

That this schoolboy's tablet derived from a genuine historical inscription was demonstrated by the discovery of fragments of a stela found at Karnak, noted in *ASAE*, XXXV (1935), III, and published by P. Lacau, in *ASAE*, XXXIX (1939), 245–71, Pls. XXXVII–XXXVIII. After one allows for the schoolboy's mistakes, the congruence of the two texts is marked.

Year 3 of Horus: Appearing upon His Throne; the Two Goddesses: Repeating Monuments; Horus of Gold: Making the Two Lands Content; the King of Upper and Lower Egypt ...: [Wadj]-kheper-[Re; the Son of Re ... : Ka]-mose, given life, beloved of Amon-Re, Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands, like Re forever and ever.

The mighty king in Thebes, Ka-mose, given life forever, was the beneficent king. It was [Re] himself [who made him] king and who assigned him strength in truth. His majesty spoke in his palace to the council of nobles who were in his retinue: “Let me understand what this strength of mine is for! (One) prince is in Avaris, another is in Ethiopia, and (here) I sit associated with an Asiatic {or rather an 'A'am, according to Sir Gardiner} and a Negro! ((1)) Each man has his slice of this Egypt, dividing up the land with me. I cannot pass by him as far as Memphis, the waters of Egypt, (but), behold, he has Hermopolis. ((2)) No man can settle down, being despoiled by the imposts of the Asiatics {or rather the Setyu (worshippers of Seth?) according to Sir Gardiner}. I will grapple with him, that I may cut open his belly! My wish is to save Egypt and to smite (5) the Asiatics {or rather the 'A'amu; once again, we see that this newer translation of the Egyptian into English replaces the term 'A'amu or Amu with the designation “Asiatics”}!”

The great men of his council spoke: “Behold, it is Asiatic {'A'amu} water as far as Cusae, ((3)) and they have pulled out their tongues that they might speak all together,((4)) (whereas) we are at ease in our (part of) Egypt. Elephantine is strong, and the middle (of the land) is with us as far as Cusae. The sleekest of their fields are plowed for us, and our cattle are pastured in the Delta. ((5)) Emmer is sent for our pigs. Our cattle have not been taken away ... He holds the land of the Asiatics {'A'amu}; we hold Egypt. Should someone come and act [against us], then we shall act against him!”

Then they were hurtful to the heart of his majesty: “As for this plan of yours, ... He who divides the land with me will not respect me. [Shall I res]pect these Asiatics {'A'amu} who ... from him?

I [shall] sail north to reach Lower Egypt. [If I fight with] the Asiatics {the 'A'amu}, success will come. ((6)) If he thinks to be content with ... with weeping, the entire land ... (10) ... [rul]er in the midst of Thebes, Ka-mose, the protector of Egypt!” ((7))

I went north because I was strong (enough) to attack the Asiatics through the command of Amon, the just of counsels. My valiant army was in front of me like a blast of fire. The troops of the Madjoi {Sir Gardiner has Mazoï, and states that it refers to a type of Nubians; i.e. to Black Africans} were on the upper part of our cabins, to seek out the Asiatics {the Setyu; a second term preserved by Sir Gardiner, but replaced with the more generic term “Asiatics” in this newer

translation} and to push back their positions. ((8)) East and west had their fat, and the army foraged for things everywhere. I sent out a strong troop of the Madjoi {Mazoï}, while I was on the day's patrol ... to hem in ... Teti, the son of Pepi, within Nefrusi. ((9)) I would not let him escape, while I held back the Asiatics who had withstood Egypt. He made Nefrusi the nest ((10)) of the Asiatics.

I spent the night in my boat, with my heart happy. {Here Sir Gardiner's translation is far better and more eloquent.}

When day broke, I was on him as if it were a falcon. When the time of breakfast had come, I attacked him. I broke down his walls, I killed his people, and I made his wife come down (15) to the riverbank. ((11)) My soldiers were as lions are, with their spoil, having serfs, cattle, milk fat, and honey, dividing up their property, their hearts gay. The region of Ne[frusi] was something fallen; it was not (too) much for us before its soul was hemmed in. The [region] of Per-shaq was missing when I reached it ((12)) Their horses were fled inside. The patrol ..., ((13))

Footnotes for the above excerpts:

1 Avaris was the Hyksos capital in the Delta. The word translated "Ethiopia" is the same as the biblical Cush. In contexts of earlier times, the word Nehsi was rendered "Nubian," but is here rendered "Negro." {Today "Black African" would be viewed as preferable.} See the article by H. Junker, The First Appearance of the Negroes in History, in JEA, VII (1921), 121-32.

2 "He" was the Hyksos ruler, holding {sway?} as far south as Hermopolis in Middle Egypt, about 150 miles south of Memphis.

3 Cusae lay about 25 miles south of Hermopolis.

4 Perhaps a colloquialism for: They have over-extended themselves, since the following clause contrasts the ease of the Egyptians. The Karnak stela adds the words "that they might speak," lacking in the tablet.

8 The word "pastured" is in this place on the stela, {but} is misplaced on the tablet. Upper Egypt commonly had herds at pasture in the Delta, a practice permitted by the present truce. Emmer

wheat, used largely for fodder, was grown chiefly in the Delta.

6 In this section of the text both tablet and stela are broken, making the sense uncertain.

7 Since this ends the argument, pharaoh's bolder counsel prevailed.

8 The Madjoi mercenaries from south of Egypt were mounted high in the ships to spy out the enemy.

9 Nefrusi was a short distance north of Hermopolis. Nothing is known about Teti, the son of Pepi, whose Egyptian name suggests that he was a local vassal of the Hyksos king. See the next note.

10 These words are given on the stela. Perhaps: He (Teti) made the town of Nefrusi a nest for the Asiatic power, in Middle Egypt.

11 In token of submission and as part of the loot.

12 The reading of the place name—if such it is—and its location are uncertain.

13 The scanty remains cannot be translated.

{End of quotes from Pritchard, 1969, pp. 232–233}

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